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**MAASTRICHT AND A COMMON SECURITY POLICY:  
SCOPE, INSTRUMENTS AND PERSPECTIVES  
IMPACTS OF WEU'S MAASTRICHT DECLARATION**

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*A NEW BEGINNING FOR WEU*

The profound geopolitical changes since 1989 which have taken us from the hopes kindled by the fall of the Berlin Wall to the horror of the massacres in Bosnia, illustrate the dynamic change in the European security environment, but also the requirements of a new definition of WEU's role and place in the emerging European security architecture.

The Treaty on European Union, once ratified, will give European cooperation a major boost also in the security field. The transfer of the WEU Council and its Secretariat from London to Brussels and their collocation last January with the Planning Cell in new headquarters underline the determination of WEU to assume a key role in constructing a common European defence.

The collocation of WEU with the European Institutions and NATO will optimize cooperative relations with both the Atlantic Alliance and the European institutions. WEU's presence in Brussels shows that Europe is willing to shoulder more responsibility for its security. WEU is currently developing new structures for an enhanced operational role which will be instrumental in dealing with the crises on our doorstep, should our political masters decide to intervene with military means scale.

WEU's present agenda was set at the Maastricht Summit and expanded in the Petersberg and Rome ministerial Declarations of 19 June and 20 November 1992. At that last meeting, the enlargement of the Organization to a tenth member, Greece, was sanctioned and observer status offered to two EC countries, Denmark and Ireland. Finally, three European Alliance members — Iceland, Norway and Turkey — have accepted to become associate members. Thus, WEU has reached its optimum size. It embraces all the countries of European Community and all European allies. Having

them all around the table in WEU gives credibility and efficiency to the European pillar of the Alliance.

To sum up, the reactivation of WEU is now complete, an undeniable success in the process of European integration. From now on, we should be able to reap the benefits of a growing cohesion among Europeans within a revitalized Alliance. The gradual marshalling of the instruments of a future common European defence should, once the Maastricht Treaty has been ratified, be underpinned by the definition of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), giving an integrated Europe the vital security and defence dimension without which it would remain unbalanced and incomplete.

#### *WEU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUTURE EUROPEAN UNION AND ATLANTIC ALLIANCE*

The Declarations adopted in the margins of the Maastricht Summit set out a three-stage process for WEU's development. The first stage makes WEU «an integral part of the process of the development of the European Union» which at the same time «will enhance its contribution to solidarity within the Atlantic Alliance». A second stage will be «the eventual framing of a common [European] defence policy which might», in a third stage, «lead to a common defence». Work on the implementation of the measures listed in the Declarations of Petersberg and Rome, whose aim it is to strengthen WEU's operational role, will benefit from the expertise of the Planning Cell and the experience gained in various crises since 1987.

Until such time as the Twelve ratify the Maastricht Treaty, the formulation of a CFSP cannot be given the priority it deserves. Pending the European Union's acquisition of legal and political personality, WEU continues to enjoy a measure of autonomy in its initiatives and actions. Its responsibility is now to anticipate the conceptual framework for the creation of the instruments of a common European defence and tackle all key issues of European security.

Among the main challenges facing WEU in Brussels is its contribution to a renewed Alliance within the framework of a new Euro-Atlantic pact. The European pillar is essential to the very survival of the Alliance. It seems inconceivable that the United States will allow its troops and

sophisticated weapons to be stationed in Europe indefinitely unless tasks are redistributed in a way demonstrating to American public opinion that responsibilities are being equitably shared. Europeans must spell out which measures they are prepared to take to ensure that the US maintains a significant military presence.

Since the end of the Cold War, collective defence is no longer the dominating factor cementing Euro-US relations. The individual and collective political will of the Allies will be even more necessary than before if the transatlantic solidarity is not to be eroded by the disputes that are likely to flare up in fields other than our common security. To be an ally implies above all mutual obligations of solidarity and relationships founded on mutual trust. For the WEU members, the security guarantees and defense commitments in the Brussels and Washington Treaties are complementary. They cannot be invoked in the event of a dispute between them. With fifteen countries participating in its work, WEU is in a position to formulate coherent but non-exclusive European positions so that they may be introduced into the Alliance's political consultation process for further elaboration.

One of the pressing problems facing the Alliance is to adapt the integrated military structure. Discussions within WEU on units answerable to the Organization should contribute to the formulation of new arrangements that will put the participation of all European Allies on the same footing. The recent decisions on relations between the NATO's military structure and the future European corps are therefore of major importance in this respect.

In the context of a twin-pillar Atlantic Alliance, all elements serving as basis for maintaining the transatlantic link in the post-Cold War period must be reaffirmed. The main functions and responsibilities incumbent upon both parties have to be defined and the ways in which they complement each other and the fields in which they specialize have to be identified, as well as the mechanisms for reinforcement or prepositioning. The keywords for the relations between the European defence structures and the Alliance are solidarity and complementarity, transparency and reciprocity. What was necessary in the context of the debate on burden-sharing is all the more vital when we face the prospect of sharing responsibilities following the planned reduction in the US military presence in Europe.

WEU is now developing structures which will be both complementary to, and compatible with, the Alliance structures and future European political planning and decision-making. The practical arrangements, such as harmonization of working methods and procedures, are being worked out in detail between the various Alliance and WEU organs in Brussels, according to their specific needs.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF WEU'S OPERATIONAL ROLE

WEU's activities are not restricted by geographical boundaries imposed by treaty. During two Gulf crises, WEU demonstrated its capability to act as an effective European forum for political concertation and practical cooperation. It is Article VIII of the modified Brussels Treaty which offers the opportunity for the Council of WEU to consult on any situation which may constitute a threat to peace, «in whatever area this threat should arise». WEU's competence thus provides a framework for both concerted actions by Europeans and *ad hoc* cooperation between European and North American allies.

Current developments within WEU focus on four areas:

Firstly, military units answerable to WEU. These units will be made available by member States «from the whole spectrum of their conventional armed forces». In Rome last November, Ministers stressed the importance of the development of WEU's operational capabilities, so that a more effective contribution can be made to humanitarian tasks, peacekeeping and peacemaking in coordination with NATO and other regional organizations. Military units answerable to WEU will be organized on a multinational and multiservice basis. It is expected that all WEU member States will soon designate which units they would be willing to make available. The relations between WEU and the Franco-German corps, scheduled to be operational in 1995, will need further precision. Belgium is considering joining the Eurocorps. Luxembourg and Spain have also expressed their interest in its development.

Secondly, a WEU Planning Cell was created on 1 October 1992, under the Council's authority. It is gradually becoming operational in the first half of 1993. The Planning Cell will prepare contingency plans for

the employment for forces under WEU auspices, as well as recommendations for command, control and communication arrangements, including standing operating procedures for the headquarters that might be selected. It will also be the Planning Cell's responsibility to keep an updated list of units and combinations of units which might be made available to WEU for specific operations.

The Planning Cell is fully associated with the work of the Defence Representatives Group, more particularly of the Ad Hoc Group and the Contingency Planning Group on former Yugoslavia. Preliminary contingency planning is under way on various questions such as the reinforcement of the embargo on the Danube, the implementation of the Vance-Owen peace plan and evacuation procedures. The Planning Cell will take forward work on the Franco-Italo-Spanish proposal for European air-maritime cooperation in the Mediterranean. In carrying out its duties, the Planning Cell will also liaise with national and international planning staffs and, where appropriate, adapt their planning to WEU's needs.

Thirdly, WEU Chiefs of Defence Staff will meet twice a year prior to the regular Ministerial Councils, as well as on *ad hoc* basis whenever necessary. At Petersberg, Ministers agreed that delegations of WEU member States could be reinforced by military delegates who could provide advice for the Permanent Council and relay the views of the Chiefs of Defence Staff to the Planning Cell. Under national regulations, military delegates represent their Ministries of Defence and/or their Chiefs of Defence Staff.

Fourthly, there will be closer military cooperation among WEU member States, notably in the fields of logistics, transport, training and strategic surveillance. Among the proposals in WEU's Maastricht Declaration to be examined further, the most timely concerns the development of cooperation on armaments through the creation of a European armaments agency. The transfer of the Independent European Programme Group's functions to WEU is an important step forward in that direction.

At their Rome meeting, WEU Ministers also took note of an interim report on the possible transfer of certain EUROGROUP activities to WEU. They agreed that a final report should be prepared for a decision by WEU Ministers in Spring 1993 on the basis of positions prepared within WEU and the subsequent views of a joint WEU/EUROGROUP working group.

Since its reactivation, WEU has been an important forum for consultations on arms control issues. It focussed on practical arrangements among member States for implementing the CFE Treaty verification regime aiming at cost savings and increased efficiency. A Verification Experts Group is working on the opening of national inspection teams and the formation of multinational inspection teams with the participation of inspectors from countries of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the training of CFE inspectors. The search for cost-effective ways of implementing the «Open Skies» Treaty is also high on WEU's agenda. The «Open Skies» Experts Group is now considering the establishment of an aircraft pool.

In a new strategic and geopolitical environment, operational planning and surveillance, intelligence-gathering and earth observation have taken on a new meaning. This has been recognized by WEU member States in their decision to create a Satellite Centre in Torrejón, near Madrid; the inauguration took place on 28 April. Parallel to this, WEU has ordered a consortium of Industry to conduct a feasibility study of an autonomous space-based means of arms control verification and crisis monitoring. These studies will be a basis for further Ministerial decisions.

The space cooperation in the field of security under WEU auspices is an other example of the gradual emergence of the Organization's operational capability. In its initial experimental phase, the Centre will train analysts in the interpretation of satellite imagery. The Centre will receive its instructions from the Council. Its work will be assessed towards the end of a three-year period and its future development then reviewed. Space and arms control cooperation now clearly belong to WEU's sphere of competence and will continue to be expanded.

#### *WEU'S SECURITY DIALOGUE WITH THIRD COUNTRIES*

Like other international security organizations, WEU is conducting a dialogue with the new democracies of Central Europe on the requirements of a future pan-European security architecture. It was in the spirit of the Charter of Paris that the WEU Council launched a dialogue with newly democratic Central European States in April 1990 in a «Forum of Consultation».

The Paris-based WEU Institute for Security Studies has asserted itself as an invaluable instrument for establishing contacts and arranging exchanges of views among representatives of the enlarged «strategic community» — researchers, journalists and senior government figures. Seminars dealing with specific issues will help to focus the discussions in the Forum of Consultation, the first of which took place on 14 October 1992. Its activities will centre on Europe's security architecture, the future development of the CSCE, arms control and disarmament, and in particular the implementation of the CFE and «Open Skies» Treaties.

At this stage, WEU member States consider that the twice-yearly meetings of the Forum of Consultation and the annual Ministerial meeting have a dual objective: to explain WEU's role, objectives and activities in the evolving framework of European security architecture on the one hand and, on the other, to understand more fully the security concerns of Central European countries. The development of these relations will follow the relations these Central European Countries develop with the EC.

WEU is also establishing a dialogue with the Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) in order to promote its new security dialogue not only throughout the continent of Europe but on an important part of its periphery as well.

#### *WEU'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA*

Since June 1991, WEU has closely monitored the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. At their extraordinary meeting in Luxembourg on 5 April 1993, Ministers resolved that the Organization would play its part in the international efforts to bring a peaceful settlement to the conflict in former Yugoslavia and particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to relieve the suffering of its peoples.

Warships and aircraft of WEU member States, under operational control of Italy as present WEU Presidency, have been carrying out operations to monitor the embargo established by UNSCRs 713 and 757, since 16 July 1992. So far more than 3700 ships have been monitored by WEU operations and more than 70 suspected violations reported. Following the adoption of UNSCR 787, warships and aircraft of WEU member States



began operations aimed at ensuring the strict implementation of the embargo at sea. WEU operations in the Adriatic, undertaken in close coordination with NATO, is the first concrete cooperation between the two organisations. This just proves that both WEU and NATO are willing and capable to cooperate in order to achieve their common goal.

At the Luxembourg meeting on 5 April, Ministers agreed that WEU should offer coordinated assistance to riparian countries in order to enforce the embargo on the Danube. WEU is presently discussing with Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania the concrete details for such assistance after member countries have pledged the necessary personnel and equipment for the envisaged police action. The presence, at the Luxembourg meeting, of observers from the CSCE, SAM, EC and NATO symbolized that WEU is acting in full coordination with those organizations.

WEU member States are also prepared to study the possibility of, and the requirements for promoting safe areas for humanitarian purposes. In the perspectives of a possible implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, the WEU Council forwarded a military protection plan for Sarajevo to the UN Secretariat-General.

After two years in which its agenda has been to some extent overloaded with institutional and procedural issues, WEU is now in a position to give detailed consideration to issues vital to Europe's security, inter alia: European defence structures, defence specialization and the division of labour among member countries or the harmonization of their defence policies.

At a time of shrinking defence budgets and in a fundamentally altered security environment, Europe must pool its resources and use them more effectively. WEU is increasing its contribution to the shaping of the political and military structures of the European Union and to strengthening the European pillar of the Alliance.

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*Horst Holthoff*